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It is not quite clear what is inherited; on the whole it seems to be the right to be styled chief, provided one shows signs of leadership. Yet Manakadja said that when Captain Navajo died his property was divided between himself, Captain Jim, and their half-brothers; at the same time he became the head chief and Captain Jim became a little chief. He spoke of the chieftainship as if it were property. It is significant that none of the three half-brothers (sons of the same father) are chiefs: at the same time it is recognized that all three are mentally subnormal. Sinyella's account of this situation, given below, is somewhat different. Chieftainship is usually inherited in the male line, but there is more than one instance where the connecting relative was a woman. 624 554 428

Men do not suddenly become chiefs, Manakadja being an exception, but people gradually come to call them so, as they develop prominence. They emphatically do not acquire official positions. 554 624

In speculative works on the development of government so much is made of the dominating character and prowess of chiefs that a few words defining that of the six Havasupai chiefs may not be amiss. Manakadja, the head chief, is a man of seventy, dignified, reserved, somewhat simple, and with a quiet humor; a man who spends much time in a sedentary way at home, is usually "on show," but far from pompous. He is an indifferent talker. His brother Captain Jim, slightly younger, is energetic, active as an organizer of the younger men, particularly in relations with the Walapai and Navaho, who usually send dance invitations, etc., intended for the tribe to him.. He is not a fluent talker but commands respect. Watahomidja, a man of about the same age, is quiet, reserved, not especially dignified, and is the center of the conservative element. He is a fluent talker, but not emphatic, and, I suspect, somewhat cynical. Panamida is a little younger; he is phlegmatic, not especially dignified, fond of horse-racing and encourages the boys in that sport. Big Jim, fifty-nine, is energetic, aggressive, busy, a fluent and effective speech-maker, making free use of rapid and graphic gestures, and a potent influence in council. Sinyella, aged seventy-one, is quiet, kindly, far more industrious than the average, shrewd, observant, and active in directing the dances. Like Manakadja he is a poor talker. Jess gave the consensus of opinion on the order of the best speechmakers as Big Jim, Watahomidja, and Captain Jim, which agrees with my own observations. I cannot believe that these men are the most powerful personalities, as theory would have it, for there are others of the same age and character who have not the good fortune to be called chiefs. Furthermore, there is another outlet for the exceptional individual, namely, shamanism. In fact, I [648] [537] 554 756

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office among several southern tribes: Cahuilla, Serrano, Cupeño, Southern and Northern Diegueño, and Luiseño. The last two at least also have village chiefs who do not inherit their positions, but Gifford's belief is that these functionaries are of modern origin.[1] Kroeber writes,

> In general it seems that chieftainship was more definitely hereditary in the southern half or two-thirds of the state than in the north central area.[2]

In northwest California (Hupa, Chilula, Yurok, Tolowa) leadership is based on wealth but since this is inherited there is practically the same situation as elsewhere. Much further north the Wishram and Wasco have hereditary chiefs, and from this point northward there is an hereditary class almost everywhere.[3]

Non-hereditary chiefs may be the general rule in the Basin and eastward; at least they are recorded for the Northern Maidu, Klamath, Shivwits Paiute, Lemhi and Wind River Shoshoni, Nez Percé, and Kiowa.[4]

Inheritance of chieftainship as in the Havasupai case does not argue any special authority. Kroeber interprets the Californian data as meaning

> that the authority of the chief was considerable everywhere as far north as the Miwok, and by no means negligible beyond.[5]

But this certainly does not apply to the Havasupai and some of their neighbors (Tointeaa[6] and Shivwits Paiute, Southern Diegueño, Cocopa). Here the function of the chief seems purely advisory, and the stereotyped form this takes among the Havasupai has an even more specialized appearance among the Tointeaa[6], Navaho, White Mountain Apache, and Cocopa,[6] where the chief begins the day with a shouted announcement of what the people are to do or other general admonitions. There is a possible connection of this crying through the camp with the Pueblo crier's function.

The word-for-word repetition of formal speeches is the custom of groups north of the Havasupai. The Paviotso appoint an individual to repeat the speeches at a council and Mooney observed that these were repeated verbatim after each sentence. Lowie also noted that a storyteller expects his listeners to repeat each paragraph of his tale.[7] Powell's account also suggests a similar functionary when a Kaibab chief tells a

[1] Gifford, (a), 108, 173, 174, 181, 187, 193, 202, 208, 213; Spier, (e), 309; Sparkman, 215.
[2] Kroeber, (c), 285.
[3] Goddard, (a), 58; (d), 271; Powers, 45, 66; *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 918.
[4] Lowie, (a), 209; Spinden, 242; Mooney, (e), 233.
[5] Kroeber, (c), 286.
[6] Lowie, (i), 294; field notes on the Cocopa. I add the Navaho and Apache from a somewhat hazy recollection of what I heard among them.
[7] Hopkins, 54; Mooney, (b), 770; Lowie, (i), 309.

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story.[1] It is possible that this is what Powers means by calling the Northern Maidu clown (Sacramento valley and foothill groups) a "prompter or repeater of the chief."[2] He reports for the Southern Maidu a boy who repeats very utterance of a shaman during his performance[3] and the same occurs among the Klamath. Of the Nez Percé Spinden remarks that

> often a public speaker, or herald, repeated word for word the orations of the chiefs in order that the assembled multitude might hear,[4]

and of another Sahaptin group at Priest Rapids on the Columbia River, Mooney records that speakers talked in a low voice to an "interpreter" who repeated to the audience.[5] The last is also true of the Wishram.

Like the Havasupai the Pima warriors

> divided into two parties—those who used the bow and those who fought with club and shield.[6]

It would be interesting to know whether this specialization was general in this area.

At least one type of Southwestern club has a recognizable distribution. This is a cylindrical affair, having a handle of smaller diameter in the line of its axis (Kroeber's "potato-masher" type). It is used with a punching, face-smashing stroke. This seems to be typical of the lower Colorado: Mohave, Chemehuevi, Cahuilla, some Mission Indians, Yuma, Cocopa, Opata, Maricopa, Pima, and Yavapai.[7] Kroeber, however, describes this as the Pueblo type of warclub.[8] The Havasupai ball-headed club is shared with the Cocopa. This is not the well-known type, a ball and handle joined by a rawhide cover, which in this area is used by the Western Apache and Wind River Shoshoni.[9] The Southern Diegueño weapons are a flat curved club and an angular hook.[10]

There is some doubt that the sling is aboriginal in the Southwest, but as the object is widely distributed in Mexico, Central America, and the northern parts of South America, it is possible that it is ancient in the Southwest.[11] It is also found northward through California. The tribes for whom it is recorded are Navaho, Hopi, Western Apache, Havasupai,

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[1] Powell, 116, 128.
[2] Powers, 310; Dixon, (a), 236, 318.
[3] Powers 334; Faye (p. 43) notes a partner or deputy of the captain who speaks in public. This seems to correspond to the chief's assistant of more southerly Californian tribes.
[4] Spinden, 243.
[5] Mooney, (b), 730.
[6] Russell, (d), 120, 202.
[7] Whipple, Ewbank, and Turner, 50; Barrows, 80; Hoffman, in Reid, 29; Trippel, 577; Heintzelman, 43; Russell, (d), 98; cf. Bartlett, II, 237; Corbusier, 231.
[8] Kroeber, (a), 206.
[9] Bourke, (b), 89; Lowie, (i), 246.
[10] Spier, (e), 284.
[11] Means; cf. Hough, in *Handbook of American Indians*, II, 602.

[Text continues on p 258]

DANCES

Annual Dance

The one general dance (*yimdgt*) of the year is hardly to be classed as religious, for it serves a social end, yet it is also a means of obtaining rain and prosperity. Certainly the pleasure element is uppermost for the majority of those attending. It is performed at the end of August or the beginning of September, when the harvest is gathered. At this time Navaho, Hopi, and Walapai visitors come to share the abundance and to trade, the several days of festivities furnishing the principal diversion of the year. In 1918 a somewhat impromptu affair was given on August eighteenth and a more extended dance in the middle of September lasting two days and nights; in 1919, the dance was held September twelfth to fifteenth occupying three nights and the intervening days. 527 535 [789] [241] [648]

The dance of August 1918, although held by day, was typical, save in one respect, namely, that most of the active men and women were absent in attendance on a mourning ceremony given by the Walapai. [648] The dance ground, a disputed tract in the middle of the village, was voluntarily cleared by some boys, who piled the brush about the edges; this was the only approach to an enclosure. People began to arrive in the early afternoon, the men congregating apart from their families. Curiously enough, although the women sat together they formed three slightly separated groups; those from camps 7–18 (see map, Fig. 50) were at the southern end, camps 44–53 at the north, with the families from the middle section of the village between. Clearly this was not only an expression of the relationships prevailing between neighbors, but also of a degree of cohesion among neighbors as such. The older men smoked; the younger played games of chance; the women, when not engaged in preparing food for the subsequent feast, prepared basketry material. By midafternoon the entire village, with the exception of a few old women attending the sick, had arrived. Sinyella thereupon directed that a space be cleared to receive the food, arranged part of it that the men might eat, and distributed the remainder among the groups of women and children. At its conclusion, Sinyella and Manakadja, the only chiefs present, rose from their places before the men and addressed a moral discourse to the women and children, stating as well, that although the dance had not been given for several years, on this occasion it should be resumed in its old form. At this time, the heat of the day abating, the dance commenced. 527 571 621 [525] [574] [537] [183] [535]

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many children had participated at least in some slight degree, such as gathering firewood, cooking or distributing food, etc. There was some philandering, young children got out of hand at times, but little ill-feeling was shown at any time. [527] [535]

Preparations for the dance of September twelfth to fifteenth, 1919, began two weeks before with singing practice. On one such night about thirty young men with a few of their elders gathered at the dance ground as the moon rose. After some discussion, they commenced singing. The old men sat close about a fire, while twenty younger stood in a circle about them. Supai Jack, the best singer, sang first, the others joining. The occasion was one for considerable chaffing. Sinyella called out admonitions, which were taken seriously, while they sang. The auditors repeated "*Adaly*", good" after each song was tried. Two Navaho who had arrived to announce the coming of their tribesmen were present. Lads practised wrestling [533] [648] [526]

Early in the morning of September fifth, Panamita, a chief, hallowed a summons to clear the dance ground, which volunteers complied with before noon.

On the afternoon of the first day families began to arrive at the dance ground at 3:30; all the men were present by 5, but many women did not attend this day. Women cooked; boys ran some horseraces (which, like the discontinued footraces, were to a distant point and back). The remaining food was spread in long rows on a layer of willow branches by Sinyella and another. Men ate here at sundown; after food was set out for the women by Sinyella. The nine Navaho men present, who held themselves aloof, were first served by their many friends. Three chiefs, Manakaja, Sinyella, and Captain Jim, and the shaman, Rock Jones, harangued the seated crowd from time to time. The dancing continued from 8:30 until midnight. Hesitation in starting the dance was again noted. The drummer and song leader stood throughout at the center of the circle. These two would sing the phrase once while the performers stood in their places, then all joined; when they were singing in unison, the drummer gave the signal to dance. Forty to fifty men and girls formed the group which circled about three times per song, stopping in their initial positions. The girls were slow in joining, until urged by the head chief's old wife. Women forced their way in beside the Navaho, who, with some Havasupai men, paid their partners (the women on the right), with small coins for each dance. Several men went about to preserve order. Some of the women had weeds hung from the back of their belts, similar to one hung on me when I joined the dance of the previous year. [526] [648] [537] [527] [535] [533] [301]

The Indians had gathered, dressed in gala garb, by 5 p.m. on the second day, and feasted at sundown. The head chief erected a pole at the center of the dance ground. At 8 p.m. twenty dancers, formed in two lines, one of men, the other of women, performed the Mohave dance (see p. 267). The head chief addressed the audience about 9, after which the dancing began. The average number of dancers was fifty, including a larger proportion of women than on the preceding night. The distinctly old people did not dance. Speeches were made at intervals by the chiefs, Big Jim and Sinyella. Such talks were a half hour in length. [177] [624] [537]

About midnight a masked boy ran out of the bushes to urge and whip the laggards. He wore a white mask with eye and mouth holes, short black trousers, cottonwood branches were tied around his neck and biceps, and he carried a cottonwood branch in each hand. His arms and legs were painted white, with white stripes diagonally crossing his breast and back. They danced until 1 a.m. [302]

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527 535 [439] The third day was occupied with horseracing and trading with five Hopi men who now arrived. The dance was given at night continuing until dawn. It was begun by Navaho and Hopi who sang their own songs.

[349] According to informants it is usual to provide two semicircular shades of branches set upright in the ground for the women to cook under.

The drum (*gwełlk̨ómid*) is slung under the left arm. It is a section 534 of a hollow cottonwood log; one specimen (50.2–1632A) is 43 cm. high and 30 cm. in diameter, with hide ends laced together. The drumstick (*gwełlk̨ómidi'i*) is of the looped type. In one specimen (50.2–1632B) a willow handle, 25 cm. long, terminates in a double loop of 11 cm. diameter, which is bound with cloth, the whole being painted red. Formerly, a skin was fastened over the mouth of a clay vessel containing a little water. Turning the pot over wet the skin and caused it to shrink taut. This was carried in the dance slung under the left arm. They do not drum on baskets.

624 537 782 539 The speeches delivered by chiefs are in part prayers. Sinyella prayed to the ground, the rocks, and the creek as follows:—

Inyámátvi	má'évahag'i'i	dúyíiniyúdjik
my ground	ground, hear me	let us always live
áhánigwayóhag'i'i		ma'évahag'i'i
I want always to live well		ground, hear me.

624 527 535 [171] The position of dance director is informally filled by any of the chiefs: it is not, as among the Mohave, the prerogative of an individual. In fact, the term *kaha't* (the equivalent of the Mohave dance leader, *kohota*) is applied only to a big chief. Nevertheless, there is a tendency for one man to assume and retain the initiative in this affair. But this has probably no greater significance than the direction over the horseracing assume by Panamida at present. According to Sinyella, his father's two older brothers (the eldest of whom was a chief) were directors, who passed their function to him when they died, but it is doubtful that this function was as formal as his statement would imply.

533 The song leader's position is equally informal. The present leader, Supai Jack, is universally recognized as the best singer, with the most perfect memory and fertility in inventing songs.[1] Many of the songs now sung were invented by his predecessor, Teyadjává (corn thief), a chief, to whom he was unrelated. Teyadjává dreamed he was dancing and singing the following song:-[2]

[1] About 1900 James saw a Chemehuevi, who may have been a ghost dance advocate, acting as a song leader, (b), 233.

[171] [2] The airs of these songs do not resemble most of those of the Zuñi, nor according to the Havasupai, those of the Hopi; on the other hand, they have something in common with the Mohave songs they sing and also with those of the Southern Diegueño which I have heard.

drag the now exhausted women to the fires, where friends of their own sex attend them until they "come to." 796 152

And what did all this ceremony mean? — for to the Havasupais it was a ceremony, performed with as much dignity as we perform our religious services in church or cathedral. While I was dancing Hotouta was giving an explanation to Mr. Bass. Each year this dance is performed as an act of highest devotion to gain the approbation of "Those Above." The Peach Dance is the "harvest thanksgiving" dance — when thanks are made for the gifts of the past and prayers are offered for the needs of the future. 796 [781] [782]

The leader of the singing was a Chemehuevi Indian, — a tribe located west of the Wallapais and living mainly on the California side of the Colorado River.

He was a regular "evangelist" amongst the Indians, — a native Moody, and gifted enough, musically, to perform the part of Sankey or Excell. His harangue on this occasion was an unusually fervent oration, especially cutting to Hotouta, for he was one of the chief objects of the "evangelist's" vituperation and abuse. In fact had Hotouta been a white man he would have gone away saying the preacher was "horribly personal and disgracefully abusive" to the leading members of his congregation. He explained that the reason the tribe had lost so many of its members last year by the dread "grippe" was because of their levity. They had laughed too much, gone hunting and visiting white men's camps when they ought to have been dancing. They were allowing the white man to laugh them out of the traditions of their forefathers. Then he especially denounced all friendliness to the whites, and singled out 796 537

3:James T-5 (ca. 1900) 1903
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Hotouta, Chickapanagie, Spotted Tail, and one or two others who had been the leaders in thus countenancing the whites, and administered to them severe rebukes. After this, referring to the offer of the whites to give them farming implements, food, etc., if they would send their children to the Indians' school at Mohave, he urged his hearers to listen to no such proposals. He said in effect: "Don't send your children to the school of the white man. If you do they will grow up with the heart of the white man, and the place of the Havasupai will know them no more. Your tribe will be broken up, and then the white man will come and take possession of your canyon home where the stream ever flows and sings to the waving of willows by their side. He will rob you of your corn-fields and of your peach orchards. No longer will the place where the bodies of your ancestors were burned be sacred to you; your hunting-grounds are now all occupied by him, the deer and the antelope have nearly disappeared before his rifle, and he is hungry to possess the few things you still have left. This offer is a secret plot against you. He thinks if he cannot drive you out he will seduce you out, and this school is the offer he makes to you, so that he can get your children into his hands. There he will teach them to make fun of you; to despise your method of living; your houses, your food, your dress, your customs, your dances will all be ridiculed by him, and so you will lose the favor of 'Those Above,' and you yourselves will soon die and your name and tribe be forgotten." In other words, he endeavored to make it perfectly clear to the assembled Havasupais that the school proposition was a white man's scheme — a dodge — to get their children away so that eventually they

3:James T-5 (ca.1900) 1903
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—the whites—might claim the Havasu Canyon for themselves. 796 537

Thus he exhorted time after time, and, after each sermon, sang out, line for line, a new song that he desired them to learn. At first he alone sang, then Navaho and a few of the older ones took up the strain, and soon all joined in. Then the dance began, and continued with unabated zeal and fervor until the "missioner" gave the signal for rest. Then, after another harangue, another song was learned, another dance performed, and so on, *ad libitum*. [533]

The state of mental exaltation or frenzy, not unlike those peculiar manifestations of the negroes at revival meetings, the Shakers, "having the power," etc., is not uncommon among the Havasupais. At the Thapala Dance I have seen three women almost simultaneously suddenly dart from different parts of the dance circle, and hysterically shrieking, yelling, and singing, foaming at the mouth, tearing their hair, falling down with violence, and with appalling disregard to the injury to their own bodies dash against each other, or on the great central tree trunk, which stands like a flagpole in the centre of their dance corral, yield to this uncontrollable frenzy, and remain under its influence for an hour or more. During the whole time of their ecstasy, the dance continued uninterruptedly, except when one of the frenzied women dashed towards the dancers as if to escape the circle. Then the man nearest by rudely took her by the arms, body, or shoulders and thrust her, shrieking, back into the centre of the circle. 796 152 158

Yunosi gained her present name because of her occult powers and frenzied visions. After Hotouta's death she would occasionally wake up and cry out that she saw 787

was succeeded at his death in 1946 by his eldest son, Dudley Manakaja. 622
(4) Chief Dudley Manakaja died in 1951, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Stanley Manakaja.

The latter instance is notable as a test of the extent to which the Havasupai are swayed by earlier custom, because Stanley at his father's death 642
was a youth of 16. Now, in addition to ignoring the inheritance custom, the 622
constitution requires that "members of the Havasupai tribal council shall be qualified voters of the reservation, 35 years of age or over." Opinion was divided on the question of Stanley's succession, factions developed, and the issue was debated for a year or two. Stanley eventually was recognized as chief, but an elderly uncle of high prestige was appointed to advise him.

Only one of the three present hereditary chiefs appears to be a man who 622
embodies the personal qualifications described by Spier. Certainly this one chief alone commands much respect among his fellow tribesmen. While it is acknowledged that former chiefs probably had rivals, the weakness of present chiefs may have some bearing on the fact that several men who embody the personal qualifications of chieftainship aspire to tribal leadership. These men have been elected to the tribal council from time to time, and have otherwise been prominent in tribal affairs. At least two of them, however, covet chieftainship, and reportedly feel they are better qualified than the present chiefs.

These two men, and numerous others of lesser stature, occasionally 537
deliver public addresses, expressing their opinions on tribal affairs or 622
remonstrating with the people for one reason or another. Any person who wishes to do so appears free to speak in public, and groups which gather for gambling or other purposes frequently are harangued at great length by old men of the tribe. Subjects include public and private affairs, and individuals may take this means of airing petty matters. Certain individuals, not all of them respected, are frequent speakers. About one such man it was said, "He is always telling us what to do, but no one pays attention to him. He is all the time talk-talk-talk. That's because he wants to act big."

However, public speaking was a course pursued by men aspiring to leadership and, ultimately, to chieftainship. Prior to adoption of a constitution, men may have tested their popularity in this manner and, in effect, made known their desire or availability for chieftainship.

Precluding the possibility of succession to chieftainship, public speaking today may be a form of unofficial leadership. Men who give advice in this manner may simply use it as a means of asserting themselves in the group, of gaining recognition (whether favorable or unfavorable), or of reinforcing their egos.

622 Since women are barred from becoming chiefs, the investigator as-
537 sumes that a woman who steps out of the feminine role to the extent of
562 speaking in public may do so for reasons similar to those of men who can have little, if any, hope of becoming chiefs. Very few women do presume to speak in public and this on rare occasions.

622 Women sometimes do exercise influence in the sense of being sought
562 out for advice, but they cannot, like men, overtly aspire to a role of leadership. They are respected solely for their personal attributes which, in the end, are also the criteria of a chief. One such woman, Mrs. Supai Bob, who belonged to an earlier generation, was the wife of a chief. "She learned about being a chief because her husband was one," explained one informant. Another asserted, "She was like a chief after her husband died, but they didn't call her that. People just asked her advice." It is said that she was often within hearing when people came to her husband with problems and that she sometimes went with him to meetings of all the chiefs. In any event, it appears that Mrs. Supai Bob achieved an enviable status, perhaps that of greatest possible respect for a woman among the Havasupai. Her influence may be present today in the person of her son, the shaman who acts as regent and advisor to the head chief.

No counterpart of Mrs. Supai Bob exists in the present population, and it is unlikely that any but a woman of very exceptional qualities would emerge in such a respected position.

623 Under the present tribal government by council, women have never
562 been elected as members. The four elected councilmen, together with the three chiefs, may appoint a secretary from among their number or outside. In 1951, a woman, wife of one councilman and sister of another, was appointed secretary. Whether she served actively has not been ascertained.

Tribal council meetings are well attended by both men and women of the tribe, and lengthy public debate is customary on every subject of consequence to the tribe. While certain women seldom or never take part, others speak out at length and with assurance. Women, on the whole, are less prominent in such discussions than are the men, but they are now assuming a voice in tribal affairs which is new to them.

In the summer of 1958, there was some dissatisfaction with the storekeeper appointed to operate the tribal cooperative store, a woman whose husband was chairman of the tribal council. It was a woman who took the initiative in obtaining the required signatures to petition the tribal council to end the appointment. When the petition was read aloud by the chairman, a heated argument ensued. The initiator of the petition and several other women spoke as firmly as did any man present in supporting the charges outlined. The chairman countered with a wrathful defense of his wife (he assisted her in the store), and when the council voted to oust her, the

765 while others gathered in a huddle around them. All wept and wailed aloud,
152 "a-a-a-a-oh-oh-oy-oy-oy-oy-oy." Not everyone repeated this precisely, and individual variation occurred in forming the sounds, pitch, and repetition.

Some people stood around for several minutes before joining the mourners, although gradually most of them joined the group, placing their right hands on a mourner's left shoulder as they wailed.

This initial wailing and emotional display lasted for 10 or 15 minutes.
[537] Then Mark Hanna made a speech to the relatives, advising them to grieve now, and then to forget the dead and turn their thoughts to the living. Women stood with heads bowed and shoulders drooped. During the speech they occasionally broke out in low wailing almost like a song, but softly, so they could still hear what was being said. Men, too, stood with bowed heads and hats pulled down so that the brims hid their faces. Certain individuals displayed more emotion than others. One boy's shoulders shook as he was wracked with sobbing, while others merely made the appropriate sounds. Clark Jack wailed in a rather high, thin voice, while others, notably Louis Sinyella, had full voices that produced musical sounds even in the wail.

537 After Mark's speech, Clark spoke, extolling the virtues of his father
765 and his love for him. He recounted his feelings when the hospital tests in-
152 dicated that his father would not live long.

Both speeches, especially Clark's, were delivered in quavering tones, the men being overcome by emotion so that some words broke or came out in a "squeak." Tears ran down their faces. Clark's speech was an emotional experience such as most people would deliver if they tried to speak at the funeral of a beloved parent. It was a dignified and genuine display of a man's feelings in a ritual, culturally determined, and approved pattern.

765 While this last talk was being delivered, Teddy and some others, boys and men, set three posts in the ground and nailed boards from the top of one to the other, and from it to the corner of a small storeroom. On these they spread out the clothing donated for Mexican Jack. On the center post they hung a pair of new chaps. Then chairs were brought from the church [an Episcopal mission] and placed in two rows facing each other in front of Clark's house.

765 Mark and Arthur took places on the opposite side of the fire facing
535 east between the two rows of dancers. The male dancers faced south. Those with rattles, Lemuel, Louis, and Teddy, took their places, and were joined by Dan and Floyd. These all kept their same places throughout the night. Toward morning James, with his rattle, sat next to Teddy on the east end

[text continues on p. 22]

765 of the line. The identity of dancers at the west end changed occasionally.
535 Most of these were young boys, including Neil Uqualla (almost 12 years old), who participated most of the night.

765 The men began singing and stood up for the first dance before any
533 women took their places. Then Mecca and Faye went over and danced with
535 them. They stayed at the west end of the women's line all night. After several dances, Hazel and Nettie took the two remaining chairs facing the five men who were then dancing.

James Wescogame stood apart with his rattle. First he sat near Arthur and Mark who were singing duets accompanied by Mark's rattle. Later they were joined by Hardy and Alfred in the same area. Soon James moved to a chair behind the women's line at its west end and faced east. He was joined by Andrew who was a good singer and appeared to be learning the songs. James remained in that position all night except for about two hours when he joined the men dancing.

Two songs, and sometimes three, were sung simultaneously during most of the night. The words, tunes, and rhythms differed for each, but each singer appeared not to pay attention to or be disrupted by the other two. When Mark and Arthur gave a speech between their songs their voices
●[537] could not be heard, except by those seated closest to them, because of the noise of the other singers. Occasionally all would be silent at the same time. Then Joe Jones and several others would call out, "Hánaga, Hánaga" (good, good). Each of the three singers had a certain series of songs to sing, and there was a prescribed order to be followed. Mistakes were not considered harmful; sometimes the same song was delivered twice in succession. Each song consisted of one line repeated over and over 30 to 50 times. Those of James and the other team had more words and variety but took about the same time to sing. All those vocalized by the dancers during the first half of the night had the same time and dance steps. During the second half these were varied, with a new rhythm being used for every third or fourth rendition. Finally, for the last two dances, songs were sung which changed from one time to another, also requiring a shift in the steps. The most common dance step, wherein males and females in the two lines moved toward each other, involved a rhythmic shuffle by short steps, 12 forward starting on the right foot and 12 backward, also leading with the right foot. Louis Sinyella started each song for the dancers. Then the men sang it for several minutes, at which juncture their voices rose as they stood up together to move forward to the women's lines. As the two lines moved back and forth the men with rattles would accompany the singers, changing, near the end, from a continuous forward movement of the forearm in a short beat to a sideways motion involving the wrist in a more rapid beat. Once or twice when they did this, always when they were advancing, they